1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like.

178 423 311 [217]

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect.

423 [888]

The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7]

423 427

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. Now an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings.

178 423 311 428

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Matsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399. [115]

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment. 249 [439] [415]

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use. [727] [423] [429]

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered. 241

(1) Soy beans (daizu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

Starch
Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

231 [417] Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays [262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to everybody through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most [438] [251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of [443] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

[417] Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have [493] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse [434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre- [427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The [474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room. [137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry [462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute [434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 [554] Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

423 [62] [474] community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages [426] on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even nonrelatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] [122] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products. [575] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 [875] [485]

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 [231] [654] [476] [474]

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 [627] [867]

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field. 423 427

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947. 423 427 435

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels. 423

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet. 262 171 [263]

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet potatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish. 262

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 [77] The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

[228] [423] Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

651 [632] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succession involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, purchase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has suggested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were extended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been applied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most violent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [427]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [362]

[Kanegusuku]

621 423 425 [427] [769] Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage. Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle. Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots, especially old family sites. The house lot in such cases is regarded as an important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 427 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

[Kitazato]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

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621 for the lands which they rent, since they have no cash; and they feel that
427 the amount of rent in product from their low yield soils is too great to justify the expenditure of labor. Several other villages in the area lost land to the airfield, so that there is very little land available for rental today. The land which they have rented is of a poor quality, and, consequently, yields are very low. A few fortunate ones have had relatives in neighboring villages who have supplied them with land at a low rental; several who have brothers in neighboring villages have been given free use of some lands. These, however, constitute a small portion of the total village.

628 Neighboring villagers who were interviewed expressed their sympathy for Kitazato's loss of its livelihood. They state that relations between them are good.

621 Morale The villagers are in a low state of morale, and they fre-
829 quently express the opinion that their situation is hopeless. The young people see no future in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as soon as they are able. Older adults cannot conceive of leaving the village; yet, they are depressed by their circumstances. A number of the middle-aged men remarked that it was too late for them to learn another occupation even if they could get away. The older people particularly mourn the loss of their village: "Our village was beautiful, and we loved it," and "Our land is hopeless now; we cry in our minds just to look at it." All age groups were heard to express statements such as, "Each year things are worse," and "We are slowly starving to death." One informant told the author that he believed someone had been stealing potatoes from his field.

The head of the local agricultural office believes that the village should be brought together again as a single community on the site of the old village near the airfield and that they should be given permission to farm the unused land contiguous to the field. In this way, he feels, they might be able to pull themselves together and start rebuilding anew. He is worried that the people will become so demoralized by their present state as to become slothful, and he is of the opinion that the people cannot continue much longer in their present state.

Outlook for the Future The people of Kitazato are uneasy and pessimistic about their future, and the local 'son' officials, political and agricultural, feel that the villagers cannot long continue in their
621 state of poverty and borderline starvation. It seems to the author that the future holds but three possibilities for them---continued endurance of their present situation, emigration, or an increase in the rent paid for the use of their land.

Without an improvement in their present circumstances, ultimate
433 starvation would seem the only possibility; the figures on land holdings alone will validate that, for ten acres will not provide subsistence for over four hundred no matter how intensive the agricultural techniques. There does not appear sufficient land available for rental with which they might supplement their meager holdings. Many villagers are too poor to cut loose from the wretched plots they farm; it takes cash to move and set up